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## AMERICAN CHURCH LEADERS CHART THE ROAD TO A JUST AND DURABLE PEACE

On March 3-5 at Delaware, Ohio, some 370 American religious leaders met on the call of the Federal Council of Churches to study the bases of a just and durable peace. Designated by Time as "An American Malvern" and characterized by Bishop Ivan Lee Holt as "intellectually .... the most distinguished American church gathering I have seen in 30 years of conference-going," the conference wasted no time in preliminaries, but got down to business at the opening session. Working in four sections, the group was unified and illuminated by the Merritt-McDowell Lectures, an annual event at Ohio Wesleyan University, host to the meeting. For this occasion the lectures were on the theme of the conference and brought to the platform such speakers as Bishop Francis John McConnell, Dr. Hu Shih, Chinese ambassador, Mr. William Paton, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, Dr. Leo Pasvolksy, economic advisor to Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Dr. John Foster Dulles, noted international lawyer, and J. K. Hambro, president of the League of Nations and of the Norwegian parliament. The lectures, to be published in book form, constituted a searching review of the whole international situation and its possibilities for both good and evil.

The real work of the conference was done in the four sectional groups:- The Church and the Political Bases of a Just and Durable Peace; The Church and the Economic Bases of a Just and Durable Peace; The Church and the Social Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, and the Relation of the Church to a Just and Durable Peace. The Political Section faced such questions as national sovereignty, colonies, world government, sanctions, international courts and judicial processes, and an international police force to curb aggressors. The Economic Section dealt with the relation to a just and durable peace of such questions as international banking and finance, tariffs, access to raw materials and markets, standards of living, efforts of nations to become economically self-sufficient. The section dealing with world social problems faced problems of poverty, hunger, disease, relief, protection of minorities of race, color, religion, and political opinion. The Church group considered the relation of the churches to the creation of an 'ethos' or common basis of sentiment, sympathy and understanding on which both a world church and a world government can be created.

The reports of the sections came to the plenary sessions of the conference for final discussion and adoption. In a group representing a wide variety of theological, political, and social views agreement was not easy to reach. Some felt that the issues in the present conflict are so vital to a just and durable peace that no conclusions of value could be reached without defining the relationship of the churches to them. Others sought a declaration dissociating the churches completely from the present war. The conference wisely decided to confine its discussions to the problems involved in a just and durable peace, leaving each individual to determine his own convictions about the present conflict.

While the delegates present were appointed by the qualified authorities in each communion represented, the conference did not speak either for the communions represented in its membership, or for the Federal Council under whose auspices it was called. Rather, it constituted itself an autonomous body speaking only for itself. Its conclusions are addressed to the churches for study and discussion as the convictions of men and women of Christian leadership concerned for the peace of the world. The findings will be available shortly in published form and it is the hope of the Federal Council's Commission on the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace that they will have wide usage among the churches for study and discussion groups. The conclusions reached may be summarized as (1) The Church is a supra-national, age-long, world-wide fellowship of believers, bound together in a common faith which cannot be broken by barriers of race, color, or nationality. Christians must not permit this fellowship in Christ to be sundered by the circumstances of war. (2) A world-government consisting of some form of adequate central agency, an adequate body of international laws and judicial machinery, and an adequate international police force, is necessary to insure permanent peace. Each nation should make whatever sacrifices of sovereignty may be necessary to achieve that purpose. (3) The world economic system must be so reconstructed that raw materials, markets, and channels of trade will provide opportunities for the good life to all peoples, with special concern for nations lacking these opportunities and for backward peoples. (4) Since it is probable that a number of nations will be in political and social

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Under the guise of curbing 'non-defense spending' reactionary forces are attempting to sabotage many of the social gains made in recent years. If these efforts succeed many provisions made by the states and the federal government to aid our one-third who are ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed will be eliminated.

One of the most important services now menaced is the work of the Farm Security Administration in the Department of Agriculture. A Congressional committee investigating 'non-defense spending' has recommended that all appropriations for the aid of tenant and sharecropper farmers be eliminated for the duration. The social services against which these recommendations are directed are, the program by which 22,000 farm-tenant families have been helped to become land owners; the cooperative farm settlements, such as those of Lake Dick and Plum Bayou in Arkansas; and the tenant-sharecropper rehabilitation program by which 900,000 farm families have been enabled to borrow money from the government to pay debts, buy operating tools and animals, and thus add to their resources & income.

The opposition arises not because the program has failed or because it has cost the government large sums of money. The farm-tenant program costs only some \$7,000,000 a year to operate and its borrowing capacity is limited to \$50,000,000 - less than the cost of a single battleship. The Farm Security Administration has a direct appropriation of \$70,000,000 and authorization to borrow \$120,000,000. The total cost is something less than \$250,000,000. And most of that is being repaid by those who are aided by the program.

In the past six years the 900,000 sharecropper families who have received rehabilitation loans have not only produced, under government supervision, sufficient food for good health; how to farm their land so as to save their land and increase production, but they have increased their net income by more than \$75,000,000 over the year before they were helped. In addition, they have increased the total value of the land and equipment nearly \$80,000,000 above all debts, including government loans. In 1940 the total value of crops produced was 60% more than in the year before they were aided. To June 30, 1941, the 22,000 families which had been enabled to buy land through government loans had repaid 96.5% of the principal and interest due to date. The average cost of rehabilitating a disadvantaged farm family is \$75 per year, compared with \$800 per year for relief families.

Why then this effort to destroy so worthy a program? Part of the answer is that it aims at the release from economic servitude of several hundred white and Negro agricultural workers who have for generations formed a pool of cheap labor in the cotton & tobacco states. Another is that rehabilitation loans have customarily included money for taxes, including poll taxes. A good deal of the opposition comes from poll tax states where the enfranchisement of these voters would jeopardize the poll tax system and the tenure of a political oligarchy which has been able to perpetuate itself through their disfranchisement.

J. B. Hunter, former missionary to Japan and recently returned from the Far East, has the following to say about Religion and the World Tomorrow, by Walter W. Van Kirk, (Willett, Clark and Company, \$1.50): "Preachers who buy many books will not miss this one. Preachers who buy only a few must find a way to own this one. It is not a book merely to be read, although the reading of it will prove a thrilling, as well as a soul-purging, experience for one who both believes in his country and also in the redeeming love of Christ. It needs to be studied and then kept for reference. Within the compass of 150 pages Dr. Van Kirk has crowded the basic facts - historical, political, economic, religious - which explain the wreckage of today's world, facts which every preacher must have. Today's tragedy grows out of yesterday's sin; tomorrow's world will grow out of today's hopes - and hopes need not be mere dreams; they can be based on God's unfailing law. Dr. Van Kirk has read the past thirty years with keen discernment. If the people of the nations ignore what he sees, then the present war will be a prelude to a third struggle."

To this evaluation of a new and important book Social Action Newsletter heartily subscribes.

REPORTED NAZIS WILL ABANDON NATIONAL CHURCH PLAN

An International News Service report originating "Somewhere on the German Frontier" and published in this country in January, says that the Nazis have abandoned plans to incorporate the German Protestant Church into the "National Church" proposed by Alfred Rosenberg, the 30-Points of which were summarized in the January 1942 Newsletter. The dispatch quotes Reichkirchminister Martin Borman as saying that the plan had been abandoned because of the opposition of the German Protestant churches to Nazism, and because "Protestantism, as well as Catholicism, can best be 'atomized' by creating schisms and allowing it to disintegrate rather than increasing its power by inclusion in the state organization."

This action on the part of the Nazis, if it proves to be a fact, has a number of significant implications. It is the first open admission by the Nazis that German Christianity is hostile to the regime. This is not news, except for the Nazi admission of the fact. Martin Niemoller, Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich, Bishop Galen of Muenster, and the dean of the Berlin Cathedral, as well as the 17,000 Confessional Synod pastors have already proved that neither Protestant nor Catholic Christians in Germany are ready to accept either the new German 'Messiah' or his 'National Church,' however helpless they may be against his political designs. In the second place, it is an admission of defeat for the Nazi program for church control. The Rosenberg proposal aimed at taking over the present church structures, eliminating all Christian symbols and replacing them with the swastika and the sword, liquidating priests and preachers and substituting Nazi teachers who would expound Main Kampf on Saturday nights. Finally, it reveals the Nazi determination to do by trickery what it cannot accomplish by frontal attack. Neither plan will succeed.



In December 1941 the War Department reported that there were 115,197 Negroes in the Army. The March 4, 1942 issue of Collier's carried a striking story of the contribution of Hampton Institute, pioneer Negro school in Virginia to national defense efforts. The story was illustrated with photographs of the school's industrial training and morale-building programs. Two Negro units of the Army air corps have been organized.

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On December 20, 1941 the Church Committee on China Relief forwarded to Chungking \$150,000, the largest remittance yet made to China relief. At the present rate of exchange this amounts to about \$2,730,000 in Chinese currency. \$25,000 (U.S.) of the remittance was designated for Madame Chiang's war orphan work and \$25,000 to starving students. The Generalissimo has urged Chinese students to continue their studies that there may be no dearth of trained leadership for China.

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The National Intercollegiate Christian Council, speaking for Christian college students of the nation, urge support for the Pepper-Geyer anti-poll tax bill now pending in Congress, citing the fact that in the 1940 election only 20% of the adults of Virginia (a poll tax state) voted, as against 74% in West Virginia, which has no poll tax requirement for the ballot. In Florida the number of voters increased 100% in the first election following repeal of the poll tax law. It is asserted that 10,000,000 people in the eight Southern states with poll tax laws are virtually disfranchised. Repeal is opposed by Southern Congressmen who find a small constituency easier to control than a larger one which would result from free elections.

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Anticipating that thousands of youth workers will be called upon to harvest the nation's crops this summer the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor has adopted a statement of policy in which the United States Department of Agriculture and the Office of Education has concurred. The statement establishes the principle that no child under 14 should be employed outside the home farm except in unforeseen and extraordinary public emergencies and the education of boys and girls over 14 should be interrupted only if no other source of labor can be made available. Youths of 16 and older should be engaged before younger children are called upon and young workers should have their health and welfare safeguarded through reasonable hours of work, equitable wages not less than the prevailing rates, safe and suitable transportation, and for those living away from home on account of their work, adequate housing, supervision, and leisure-time activities.

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May 10th, will be observed by the churches as Rural Life Sunday, according to announcement of Dr. Mark A. Dawber, executive secretary of the Home Missions Council, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York. A leaflet of suggestions as to ways of observing the day, together with a worship program and other helps can be secured from Dr. Dawber's office. A leaflet entitled "Financing the Rural Church" by James F. Riggs, is also available.

Paul Robeson, noted Negro baritone, appeared in a concert at Kansas City's Municipal Auditorium on Tuesday night, February 17. His well advertised appearance was regarded as a major musical event of the season. The first half of the concert which won plaudits from music critics went off smoothly. As he opened the second half of the concert, the singer stepped to the front of the stage and announced that he regretted to interrupt the program with a speech, "but," he said, "I have made it a lifelong habit to refuse to sing in Southern states or anywhere that audiences are segregated. I accepted this engagement under guarantee that there would be no segregation. Since many local leaders of my own race have urged me to fill this engagement, I shall finish the concert, but I am doing so under protest." He then proceeded according to program, but, according to the press, obviously under inner stress. When an encore was demanded after a group of Russian songs, he sang "Jim Crow" with stronger feeling than he had put into any of his other numbers and as an unmistakable racial protest.

Auditorium authorities denied both that there had been any contractual understanding prohibiting segregation and that there was segregation in the usual sense. Seats were made available to Negroes, they declared, at all price levels from boxes and loges to the main floor, but admitted that most of the Negroes present were on the east side of the auditorium. A few white people, perhaps as many as a hundred, left the hall after Robeson's protest.

#### DRY GROUP ASKS PEARL HARBOR INVESTIGATION

The American Business Men's Research Foundation, of Chicago, over the signature of Henry M. Johnson, Disciple lawyer of Louisville, Ky., its president, has addressed a letter to Chairman Andrew May of the House Military Affairs Committee, asking an investigation of the part intoxicating liquor may have played in the Pearl Harbor debacle. While the letter specifically disclaims any intention of charging that U.S. military and naval personnel were drunk on that occasion, it does point out that there were 500 drinking resorts in Honolulu and that these were closed immediately after the raid. While the board of inquiry headed by Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts said that excessive drinking did not contribute to the disaster, military authorities immediately closed the drinking places and kept them closed until late February. Walter Trohan, of the Chicago Tribune Press Service, writing from Washington under date of February 17, declares that of the 500 drinking places in Honolulu, 285 were owned and operated by unnaturalized Japanese who may well have been members of the Japanese spy system commissioned to gather up information and pass it on to consular agents or military attaches. The Roberts Report indicates that arrests of army and navy personnel for intoxication numbered 38 soldiers and 4 sailors, as compared with 39 civilians. However, Trohan points out that soldiers and sailors are arrested for drunkenness only when they are unable to move.



Church Leaders Plan for a Just and Durable Peace  
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chaos at the close of the war, plans should be made for maintaining world order until responsible governments can be created capable of negotiating peace treaties acceptable to the peoples concerned. This means that the task of making peace treaties should be postponed until the worst bitterness of all peoples engaged in the conflict have subsided. (5) The rights of conscience must be protected and works of relief, rehabilitation and reconciliation must be carried on by the churches and other organizations dedicated to human welfare. (6) There must be no punitive reparations, no humiliating decrees of war guilt, no arbitrary dismemberment of nations; with autonomy for all subject and colonial nations and much better treatment for Negroes in the U.S.

The conference was not blind to the fact that our own national sins have contributed to the world's woes. At the first session Dr. John Foster Dulles, chairman, submitted a statement of general principles which declared that it should be a matter of "shame and humiliation" to us that though we held preponderant economic power for a generation following World War I, we allowed "irresponsible forces" to shape the world's course.

The Disciples of Christ delegation, appointed by Dr. Wm. A. Shullenberger, president of the International Convention were, in addition to Dr. and Mrs. Shullenberger, Mrs. John Fuller, Mrs. R. A. Doan, Miss Genevieve Brown, J. B. Hunter, R. H. Peoples and James A. Crain, of Indianapolis, Mrs. Clarence Hamilton of Oberlin, Ohio, Harlie L. Smith of William Woods College, Fulton, Mo., C. E. Lemmon of Columbia, Mo., Franklin H. Minck of Akron, Ohio, Urban L. Ogden of Tipton, Ind., Miss Bertha Park of Cleveland, Ohio, Dr. M. Searle Bates of Nanking, China, Harold L. Lunger of Oak Park, Ill., Henry G. Harmon, President of Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. Present as representatives of the religious press were Dr. George Walker Buckner, Jr., editor of World Call, Lin D. Cartwright, editorial secretary of the Christian Board of Publication, Herbert L. Minard, editor of Front Rank, Dr. R. H. Miller, editor of Christian Evangelist, Edwin R. Errett, editor of Christian Standard, and Dr. C. C. Morrison, editor of Christian Century. Disciples present representing other organizations were Floyd Faust of Columbus, Ohio, Dr. Samuel Guy Inman of New York, Frank G. Helme of Columbus, Ohio, John W. Harms of Baltimore, John Nelson of Clarksburg, West Virginia, and Dr. Graham Frank of Dallas, Texas.

At a meeting of Disciple representatives President Shullenberger appointed a committee headed by Franklin Minck to address a communication to the brotherhood emphasizing the importance of the conference and a similar committee headed by Urban L. Ogden to present the substance of the findings to the Grand Rapids convention, after submitting to the entire delegation. The Department of Social Education will undertake to make the findings of the conference the subject of study among organized groups throughout the brotherhood during the coming year.

GROUP RESCUES MANY ANTI-NAZIS FROM GERMANY

In spite of war and bloodshed, in spite of the efforts of the Gestapo, some of the leading anti-Nazis of Germany are being rescued and brought to this country through the efforts of the International Rescue and Relief Committee, Inc. This organization combines the work of the Emergency Rescue Committee, Inc., and the International Relief Association, Inc. Among its leaders are Dr. Charles A. Beard, the noted historian, Dr. Frank Kingdon, president of Newark University, Elmer Davis, NBC news commentator, Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, president University of Chicago, Dr. Charles Seymour, president of Yale University, Raymond Gram Swing, publicist, Dorothy Thompson, newswoman, Stuart Chase, economist, Dr. John Dewey, educator, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, pastor, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, theologian, and Oswald Garrison Villard, writer.

Under date of February 20, Dr. Kingdon announced that Dr. Otto Klepper, one of the most distinguished figures of Republican Germany was on the high seas bound for America. As Finance Minister of the Prussian State Government in 1931-32, he was one of the first ten men on the 'black list' of the Nazis. For seventeen months after the collapse of the French Republic the Gestapo searched France for him, while he lay in hiding under an assumed name on a small farm in southern France. Meanwhile, agents of the International Rescue and Relief Committee were planning his escape.

Dr. Kingdon further stated that at the time of his writing more than 1,250 men and women had been rescued in the past 20 months. Some 50 were on ship board on their way to safety then. Among those rescued are some of the brightest pre-war names in Europe. This has been accomplished because interested persons have given nearly \$450,000 during the past 18 months. Says the committee:

"Ours is not a lost cause. We are building for the future. We are saving the democratic human elements of Europe against the day when a world community of freedom and security may be achieved. We shall need them at that time as desperately as they need us now. .... This work, unique since the days of the "Underground Railway" of Civil War days, can and must continue while the chance remains to rescue those who have fought our battles." The Committee's address is 2 West 43rd Street, New York.

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